1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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person he is speaking to or speaking about and himself. Hence in Balinese one has to cope with three special vocabularies within the language, each of which includes some hundreds of words. One employs the ordinary, common language when speaking with intimates, equals, or inferiors; polite terms must be used as soon as one begins to speak to one's superiors or to strangers; and 'deferential' terms are obligatory in all cases when one is so bold as to speak of parts of the body or of the acts, possessions, or qualities of important people. The Balinese sum up the last two vocabularies under the term *alus* ('fine' or 'noble'). Naturally these two are intermingled, since the person to whom one speaks politely has the right to make use of deferential terms for everything concerning his own sphere of thought, action, and being.

Thus in Balinese one encounters many doublets and triplets which are almost synonymous, but different in degree of deference, politeness, or familiarity. One who speaks familiarly to an important person or uses colloquial terms concerning a superior is guilty of rudeness. Such rudeness could lead in some cases to an indictment in court, since the use of the deferential vocabulary is closely related to caste prerogatives. One who uses the deferential terms to his equals or inferiors is naturally not punishable, but his speech is regarded as ridiculous. Nor does one use the deferential terms in speaking of oneself. That would be the extreme of arrogance.

4

Balinese Agriculture

Bali is renowned for its *sawahs*, its irrigated ricefields. And even where wet-rice cultivation is impossible, it is a predominantly agricultural land. In 1930 seventy-five out of every hundred persons gainfully employed were in agriculture, which there almost without exception follows the indigenous Indonesian pattern. There are foreign-owned plantations only in Jembrana and the part of Buleleng to the west of Pulaki; the total area of such plantation lands amounted to some 6,800 acres in 1954.

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According to official data 1,434 square miles of land, or close to 70 per cent. of Bali's surface, was under cultivation in 1948. Of that area 26 per cent. consisted of wet ricefields, 41 per cent. of non-irrigated fields (about one-third of them planted with maize, one-third with beans and tubers, and one-seventh with rice), 7 per cent. of coffee gardens, and 17 per cent. of coconut groves. By far the largest complex of *sawahs* is in the central Balinese highlands, where it covers an important part of the present regions of Tabanan, Badung, Gianyar, and Klungkung. In the other regions the *sawah* area is considerably smaller. The mountainous Bangli has *sawahs* only at its southern point, Karangasém and Jĕmbrana each have a *sawah* belt around their regional capitals, and Buleleng has two *sawah* areas, one around the administrative seat and one in the stretch to the northwest of the Batu Kau.

Figures on the farmland available in 1948 and comparative data on the relative density of population are given in Table 6.

TABLE 6: DENSITY OF POPULATION ON BALI PER REGION IN COMPARISON TO FARMLAND AVAILABLE, 1950

Region	*Total Area (in square miles)*	*Population (1950)*	*Sawah Acreage (1948)*	*Dry-Field Acreage (1948)*	*Inhabitants per Square Mile of Farmland*
Buleleng	510	229,870	34,429	151,297	798
Jĕmbrana	325	63,155 (?)	15,016	71,095	469 (?)
Tabanan	329	238,320	62,198	110,847	881
Badung	209½	259,980	47,732	60,119	1,536
Gianyar	142	221,490	39,022	34,233	1,932
Bangli	201	100,010	7,937	72,512	795
Klungkung	121½	113,870	11,952	48,610	1,207
Karangasém	332½	257,150	19,975	130,800	1,080
Bali	*2,170½*	*1,484,043*	*238,261*	*679,313*	*1,033*

Table 7 gives figures on the net yields from agriculture for 1953. These few figures[14] are perhaps enough to indicate the importance of agriculture, and in particular wet-rice farming. The latter is, in fact, mentioned even in very old royal edicts. One of them dating from 1022 refers to the irrigation association as *kĕsuwakan*, a term related to the Modern Balinese word for

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TABLE 7: CROP YIELDS ON BALI, 1953

Crop	Yield (in Imperial cwt)
Husked rice	
from wet fields	3,907,664
from dry fields	897,806
Maize	1,158,981
Tubers	2,058,901

that concept, *subak*. Another edict, dating from 896, mentions, alongside of other *undagis*, or craftsmen, the *undagi pĕngarung*.[15] *Pĕngarung* comes from an Old Balinese root *arung*, which in Modern Balinese has become *aung*, whence are derived *aungan* (tunnel for irrigation water)[16] and *ngaung* (to make an *aungan*). Hence *undagi pĕngarung* means 'tunnel-builder'. If there were already tunnel-builders in 896 it may be assumed that wet-rice farming on Bali is significantly older than that. The modern phase of wet-rice farming is considered in this volume in a study by Grader of the irrigation associations in Jĕmbrana.[17]

5

The Balinese Desa

The people who carry on agriculture live in village communities called *desas*, and the *desa* is the chief social unit on Bali. In central Bali one can see *desa* after *desa* lying in a grove amidst its shelving *sawahs:* a cluster of compounds surrounded by clay walls and planted with clumps of bamboo and with banana, coconut, and other useful trees.

From the inscriptions it is known with certainty of various *desas* that they were already in existence a good nine or ten hundred years ago. For the ordinary Balinese the *desa* must in earlier times have figured as the focal point of the universe, considering the frequent recurrence of the name 'navel temple' for one of the three village sanctuaries. (In Balinese as in other Indonesian languages 'navel' has the connotation of 'centre'.)

The *desa* is often defined as a community of worship. An important part of its function does, indeed, lie in the religious

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The Irrigation System in the Region of Jembrana

I

The Irrigation Association

An irrigation association, or *subak*, comprises a larger or smaller number of owners or holders of irrigable fields together forming one consolidated complex, and has the aim of promoting common irrigation interests. As a rule the *sawahs* lying within the territory of one *subak* obtain their irrigation water from one and the same main conduit, for which reason the *subak* is legally defined as a "group of *sawahs* which, being watered from the same conduit or the same branch of a conduit, forms an irrigation association"[1] – a description which a number of authors have accepted. There are various kinds of exceptions to this definition. One example is the *subak* of Kaliakah, whose westerly *sawahs* are dependent on the Daya River (in Negara) for their irrigation water, while the rest of the fields are irrigated from the Kaliakah. The two parts going to make up this *subak* actually have no common irrigation interests, but since each of them was too insignificant to function effectively by itself they united into one irrigation association so that their board could be given a broader task and mutual assistance for large-scale activities could be organized more satisfactorily. It is, incidentally, the custom that only those members of this *subak* who derive advantage from a measure have to bear the financial consequences for it. Several other cases approaching the circumstances in the *subak* of Kaliakah are mentioned in an unpublished monograph on landrent in Jembrana dating from 1932. In any number of cases *subaks* have common interests, which manifest themselves above all in collective ownership of weirs and conduits and in joint worship of temples.

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312 241 474 Expenses are usually apportioned according to the number of *sawah*-holders, or, as the term goes, every *pĕngalapan* pays the same amount. By *pĕngalapan* is meant the water inlet through which one *kĕsit* of *sawahs* is irrigated from the conduit. A *kĕsit* consists of a series of *sawah* plots lying one behind the other and belonging to the same person. If behind a *kĕsit* there is another belonging to someone else, the latter never receives the excess irrigation water from the *kĕsit* lying upstream, as is the case for the *sawahs* of one *kĕsit;* instead, a special branch conduit is constructed from the main conduit along the *sawah* dikes of the upstream *kĕsit* to the other *kĕsit*. The holders of the *sawah* plots beside this conduit, for whom the water is not intended, may not appropriate any water from it without running the risk of being punished by the *subak* for water theft.

The *subak* functionaries take care that the water inlet for each *kĕsit* admits exactly the right amount of water needed for proper irrigation. In this the *sawah*-holders give their full cooperation, aware that it is in their own interests, since an excessive amount of water is harmful to the crops. It is for this reason that farmers are to be seen in the *sawahs* during heavy rains, to prevent too much water from coming into the *kĕsit*. Mutual assistance in the form of exchanging labour is frequent between *subaks* or groups of *subaks*, often under the auspices of the regional and lower agricultural officials, the *sĕdahan agung* and *sĕdahan*.

2

The Subak Board

The head of the *subak* association is the *klihan subak*, who is appointed by the *sĕdahan* and the *sĕdahan agung*, though the feelings of the members of the *subak* are definitely taken into account. The *klihan* selects certain helpers, again more or less in accord with the preferences of the *subak*. They consist of an assistant *klihan*, and several *jurus arah*, or criers, and assistant *jurus arah*. The number of criers depends on the size of the *subak*, the lay of the land, the number of *subak* members, and the extent to which their dwellings

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are scattered. A crier's jurisdiction is called *arahan*. A general term for a *subak* functionary is *pĕnyarikan subak*, that is to say a person who makes notes. Members of the *subak* board are exempted from *subak* services, but not from head levies. An ex-functionary is sometimes given exemption from services for one *kĕsit*, but only for a specified time, the length of the exemption depending on the degree to which he has been of aid to the *subak*.

In connection with religious life as it finds expression in the *subak* organization, reference must also be made to the *pĕmangkus*, the temple officiants. The normal course of affairs is that in each *subak* sanctuary care for the maintenance of the temple is given to a *pĕmangku* assisted by one or more helpers (depending on the extent of his duties) who are chosen from among the members of the *subak* and, like their superior, are exempted from *subak* services. As in the case of the other *subak* functionaries, the exemption does not extend to the levies in money or in kind. The *pĕmangku*, too, if he is a *sawah*-holder, has to pay his share of such levies. The *pĕmangku* has charge of the presenting of offerings, including the special offerings on *rĕrainan*.[3] He is qualified to ask the deity for holy water and to lead the offering ceremonial.

The *pĕmangkus* of the temples of Tilarnĕgari, Bakungan, Maospait, and Pĕgubugan receive a share of the harvest from each *subak* member participating in the religious ceremonies as a compensation for their services. This compensation, called *pĕlaba*, consists of one handful of unthreshed rice per *kĕsit*. The paddy set aside for religious purposes in this way is called *pantun sari n taun*, the spiritual share of the year's yield. Originally the *sari n taun* was converted into money and the proceeds used for the purification ritual performed whenever crops were molested by mice, worms, locusts, or other vermin. It also served to cover the costs of bringing in holy water and of *nĕduh*,[3] but when the government defrayal to the *pĕmangkus* was abolished in 1922, the *sari n taun* was made a substitute for it. As a reward for their services the *pĕmangkus* also have a right to the doits placed in the offerings.

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3

Subak Services and Levies

The *subak* obligations are divided into two groups, *pĕkaryan* and *pĕnyubaktian*, depending on whether they pertain to activities of a profane nature or to religious matters. Included in the *pĕkaryan* are services in connection with the construction, maintenance, and repair of weirs, water tunnels, open conduits, distribution blocks, and *subak* roads. The *pĕnyubaktian* obligations have to do with worship in the various *subak* temples, the holding of offering festivals, and purification ceremonies.

Just as in the *banjar* the fiscal unit is the *paon*, the hearth, in the *subak* it is the *pĕngalapan*, the water inlet of a *kĕsit*. For each *kĕsit* the same amount of services needs to be rendered to the *subak* and the same share in the head levy needs to be paid. However, when a *kĕsit* is worked by more than one person, for example by the owner and his sharecroppers or by several heirs together, just as many persons should present themselves for *subak* services as are working on the *kĕsit*, since in this case the actual concept of a *kĕsit* as a complex of *sawah* plots held by one person has been broken with. Consequently that rule does not apply when the owner or holder of a *kĕsit* is helped by another person for wages or without compensation of any sort. The head levies, on the other hand, are on the ground, and are levied per *kĕsit*, regardless of what its area may be or how many people are working it.

It is not permitted for someone to perform *subak* services for more than one *kĕsit;* for violation of this rule a fine of twenty-five hundred doits is charged. A person who has a second *kĕsit* within the same crier's jurisdiction must perform *subak* services for one *kĕsit*, while for the other a relatively small money reimbursement called *ngampĕl* is due for the irrigation water. If the *kĕsits* are in two different crier's jurisdictions, a larger reimbursement known as *pĕnumbas toya* is required. The higher rate also applies when someone has more than two *kĕsits:* for the third and following *kĕsits pĕnumbas toya* always has to be paid. For both the cheaper

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and the higher rate of commutation for water there are maximums: for *ngampĕl* an amount equal to half of the landrent is prescribed, and for *pĕnumbas toya* twenty guilders. If someone takes on a sharecropper in mid-season this is called 'evading services'.[1] The fine is five thousand doits, plus compensation for the *subak* services not performed. Subject to the approval of the *klihan subak* or the crier, a substitute can be appointed for *subak* services, the *kĕsit*-holder remaining responsible. Especially officials and *pĕdandas* make use of this possibility. The *sawah*-holder is also responsible for violations of regulations by a sharecropper; on the other hand a sharecropper who has already performed *subak* services can no longer be discharged. *Subak* services cannot be transferred to a minor.

According to popular belief the Dutch authorities also have the right to claim services from members of the *subak*. In the present day this principle is no longer applied except in celebrating national holidays and during visits of the governor general. In cooperation with the *desa* the *subaks* help to put up decorations, erect festival structures, and spray the roads. *Subak* members must also turn out to form guards of honour and can be required to provide levies in the form of materials and money to be used to defray travelling expenses for persons who have to pass the night away from home while performing services. Obligations to the authorities are grouped together under the term *karya pĕngĕdalĕm*.

4

Religious Obligations

THE SUBAK SANCTUARIES

There are three categories of *subak* sanctuaries: the *pura pĕnyungsungan subak*, the *pura ulun charik*, and the *chatu*.

Under the term *pura pĕnyungsungan subak* fall the sanctuaries which were originally *desa* temples that one or more *subaks* helped to worship, after which in the course of time all the expenses connected with the temple services and offering ceremonials have gradually fallen to the *subak* or *subaks*, though others may con-

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474 number of *subaks* worship at one *pura ulun charik* in common, each
312 of the separate *subaks* also has a branch temple in the form of a
778 *chatu* which serves as a temporary residence for the deity of the *ulun charik* when it is summoned to appear there on appropriate occasions.

TIMES OF WORSHIP

782 For all the temples and other places of worship there are certain
312 times when religious ceremonies are held, either periodically or
474 as occasion demands. The periodical ceremonies are divided into *ngĕrainin* and *ngĕbĕkin* or *ngusaba*.

Ngĕrainin consists of making a flower offering in the *puras ulun charik* and *pĕnyungsungan subak;* it takes place on certain favourable days (*rĕrainan*) such as full moon, new moon, Wednesday-Klion, Anggara Kasih (Tuesday-Klion), and the like, and is performed by the *pĕmangku* without the members of the *subak* being present. No *ngĕrainin* takes place at the *chatus*, which, since they are not *puras*, do not have *pĕmangkus*.

241 The harvest festival is celebrated in the last stage of the ripening
782 of the rice, in alternate years as *ngĕbĕkin* and as *ngusaba*. New moon is considered a favourable time for *ngĕbĕkin*, while *ngusaba* takes place at full moon. The former ceremony has the character of an offering to the demons; the latter, primarily a festival of thanksgiving to the deity, is more elaborate than *ngĕbĕkin* and is often accompanied by the placing of festive poles of bamboo (*penjor*) at each *kĕsit*. The *puras pĕnyungsungan subak* follow a pattern similar to that of the *puras ulun charik*. There, too, *ngĕbĕkin* and *ngusaba* alternate every other year or every two hundred ten days, depending on whether the Hindu-Balinese or the Javanese-Balinese calendar is followed, with the festival being held on the anniversary (*odalan*) of the temple. *Ngĕbĕkin* is the 'little' festival; the *ngusaba* of the *pura pĕnyungsungan subak* is also called *odalan*. The weir *puras* usually have their *odalan* on Anggara Kasih (Tuesday-Klion) in the week of Kurantil; if there is not yet a *pura*, but only a *chatu*, then the ceremony taking place on this date is called *ngĕjot*. (*Pĕjotan* is also brought to the *chatus* whenever the deity

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must be informed that a project of any size has been begun or finished.)

The following ceremonial obligations are less closely related to the temple system. Before a beginning can be made with working the land, the patron deity of the irrigation water is received ritually, for which purpose the members of the *subak* go together to the weir, carrying the requisite offerings and attributes. Reception offerings and purification offerings are both given; if the weir has not yet been cemented, but consists of boulders, rice and pastry packed in leaves are buried between the stones.

In times of drought supplications for rain (*nědug*) are made in all *subak* sanctuaries, and also elsewhere, for example at the sea temples. Until the rains come the guardians of the temples make offerings every Kajěng (the first day of the three-day week). In cases of serious drought the ceremonial is led by a *pědanda*. Purification offerings for the crop are made periodically by individuals; in case of plant diseases or pestilences the *subak* organizes a purification festival.

Before a beginning can be made with the rice harvest, a rice mother (*nini*) is constructed on a suitable day, for which a Monday is frequently chosen. The *nini* which consists of a handful of unthreshed rice of a particular sort, serves as a temporary residence for Batara Sri; another handful of rice functions as the *nini*'s seat. The *nini* is placed on an offering platform of bamboo in the middle of the ricefield, and is presented a fragrant offering, *chanang wangi*. Harvesting may not begin until two days later. Then offerings are made to the *nini* and it is informed of the intention to begin cutting the rice. When the harvest has been taken home the *nini* is installed in the riceshed. The *nini* may not be eaten, but must decay of itself.

Once all a person's fields have been harvested and the paddy is in the shed, the ceremony of *mantěnin* is held, for which the rice granaries are adorned with young coconut leaves plaited and clipped into decorations, plus festive poles, pennons, and cloth. Under no circumstances may rice from the new crop be used or sold before the *mantěnin*. A person who is short of rice does not resort

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to the new crop, but buys or borrows enough to meet his needs until after the *mantĕnin*.

5

Subak Regulations

Subak regulations are divided into *sima* and *awig-awig*, depending on whether they are considered as having emanated from the former royal administration or were drawn up within the *subak* itself. The *awig-awig* consist of customary law handed down by word of mouth, and have been recorded only sporadically, under the influence of agricultural officials and local headmen. Copies of the *sima*, on the other hand, are held by the regional and lower agricultural officials and now and then by a literate *klihan subak*. Used as a *sima* is a work attributed to the ruler of Buleleng which begins with the following words:

> Regulation of Gusti Gĕde Ngurah, who resides and rules at Buleleng. This edict applies to all subjects to the east of Ponjok Batu as far as Pĕtĕmon and the adjoining mountainland, and applies alike to Brahmins, *ksatriyas*, *wesyas*, and *sudras*, to all who must pay taxes on irrigable fields and levies on coconut groves and dry fields as these are levied by the agricultural officials in the aforementioned territory.

The text now in circulation in Jĕmbrana was imported from Buleleng, and gives the impression of being a codification from various sources, as is indicated by the repetition in the treatment of one and the same subject. In one of the last articles there is a dubious dating "Anggara-Klion, Wara Tambir, i Çāka 1805" (thus 1883 of the Christian era). The codex prescribes regulations on the payment of taxes, selling and pawning, pasturing cattle, and taking in stray cattle. Fines incurred for the stealing of water, seedlings, or rice and for destroying plantings or waterworks are also listed. At the same time mention is made of the measures which should be taken in case carelessness in burning off a field leads to damages for third parties, and the methods to be used in appointing *subak* functionaries and regulating local irrigation.

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purposes to the circumstances of the times in the system of celebrating festivals according to various levels of expense: *nista*, *madya*, and *utama*, that is to say poor, average, and good. 312 474 627

9

Harvesting and Planting Associations and the System of Mutual Assistance

The forms within which agricultural labour is made collectively available are legion. Forms in which groups of persons seek work for wages are to be found side by side with forms with the exclusive purpose of lending mutual assistance. Sometimes there is a formal association (*sĕka*) with officers, oral regulations, and a system of fines, acting in concert in its relations with third parties; sometimes the relationship is only one of an incidental nature. A few *sĕkas* which work for pay and deserve mention are the *sĕka mĕmula*, or association for transplanting seedlings; the *sĕka manyi*, or harvest association; and the *sĕka nĕpuk*, for binding paddy into sheaves. 241 474

The pulling out (*ngabut*) and transplanting (*mĕmula*) of the seedlings is done by men. The cutting (*manyi*) is done by women, but the binding of paddy into sheaves (*nĕpuk*), each consisting of a set number of handfuls, is again work for men, since manipulating the heavy weights and cutting off the excess rice straw requires a great deal of physical strength. The wages consist either of money or of food and money; for harvesting there is also payment in kind: for every twelve handfuls of rice one is the wage for cutting. At the moment of writing the customary money wage is twenty-five cents per day; when vegetables made into a sauce are provided for the rice which the members of the *sĕka* bring with them, the wage is twenty cents a day.

Sometimes such an association is formed primarily to lend mutual assistance to its members, and works for wages only for third parties. It sometimes also happens that a person without land of his own has joined a *sĕka*, in which case when it is his turn to have the labour of the association at his disposal he transfers the right to someone else for a reimbursement in money: this custom is to be found in the district of Jĕmbrana.

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241 476 Mutual assistance is customary in working the soil, sowing the nursery beds, transplanting the seedlings, weeding, cutting the rice, binding it into sheaves, and taking the harvest home. It is usual that food is supplied during the period that mutual assistance is given. Sometimes the same group of persons is involved in the *sĕlisihan*, the mutual-assistance group, for the various tasks, but usually not, since the number of persons necessary is not the same for each sort of work. In the district of Nĕgara all agricultural work is done by *sĕlisihans*.

Frequently there is a complicated system such as is followed for the harvest associations of women, where dozens of women are sometimes united in one *sĕlisihan* working according to a carefully drafted plan. A quite accurate estimate is made of how many cutters will be needed in the course of one single day to cut the rice of a member of the *sĕlisihan*. In this way it is possible to divide the cutters over the various *sawahs* each day in an efficient way. It is figured that a workday ends about one hour before sunset; if the cutters on a certain *sawah* are through with their work much earlier, it is a sign that the estimate of the *sĕlisihan* was too high. The *sawah*-owner then receives a certain compensation in money for the excess food he has given. It is quite just that this indemnity should be given, the more so since the wife of the landholder has to give the same number of days of service as she has profited from.

When someone's crop is not completely harvested in one day he must hire a *sĕka* for the rest. The *sĕlisihan* is completely separate from the *subak* association, which serves only irrigation interests. Often the community unit, the *banjar*, serves as a basis for a *sĕlisihan;* in other cases relatives and acquaintances join together.

10

The Formation of New Subaks

467 312 474 Several new *subaks* have been created in recent times in the eastern part of the region of Jĕmbrana, where a beginning in clearing the forests was made only after the Dutch expeditions against southern Bali in 1906–1908. The landrent monograph referred

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new associations other than *sawah* associations, and 'club life' is, accordingly, very restricted.

3
Voluntary Associations

SAWAH ASSOCIATIONS

It is clear from the above stipulation in the village constitution that the *sawah* associations are considered as voluntary associations. They are, in fact, not only private, but often temporary in character.

In Tĕnganan the notion does not obtain that the water belongs to the gods or to the ruler. Like the *sawah*-association temple, it is a possession of the ground. Hence anyone who owns land also has water, though it must be dammed up in the river and conducted to the *sawahs*. The irrigation system in Tĕnganan is still in the small-scale stage. Various complexes of farmland inside the *desa* were gradually made irrigable, independently of one another. The result is a large number of weirs quite close to each other which have the advantage of requiring only a small amount of labour to be repaired and maintained each year. The limited number of workers on the weirs means that no elaborate organization is necessary, especially since the persons operating the land have only a temporary interest in it: the Tĕngananese proper are forbidden to work in the ricefields, so that the offering *sawahs* of the *desa* and the membership shares and private *sawahs* of the core villagers are farmed by other people on shares. The fields are usually awarded to sharecroppers (*pĕnyakaps*) in whole complexes or *chariks* drawing their irrigation water simultaneously from one conduit, and to sharecropper associations called *sĕkahas pĕnyakap*.

Hence there are on the one hand the holders of the *sawahs* in a *charik*, organized in a *sĕkaha charik*, and on the other the *sĕkaha pĕnyakap*, consisting of all or part of the persons working the *sawahs* of the *sĕkaha charik* and looking after the waterworks.

There are fourteen *chariks* in the village territory of Tĕnganan Pĕgĕringsingan, seven to the northeast of the Buhu River and

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311 seven to the southwest of it. The names of those in the first group (followed in parentheses by the weir irrigating them) are Mĕkahang (Mĕkahang), Pĕndusan (Pĕndusan), Nungnungan Kĕlod (Nungnungan Kĕlod), Nungnungan Kaler (Nungnungan Kangin), Sangkawan (Sangkawan), Sangkanginan (Sangkawan), and Yeh Singa (Sangkawan). The names of those in the second group are Yeh Buah (Yeh Buah), Kiskis (Kiskis), Den Umah (Den Umah), Tĕlĕpas (Babitunu), Babitunu (Babitunu), Naga Sungsang (Naga Sungsang), and Umatĕgal (Naga Sungsang).

Six of the *chariks* are said to belong to the *desa:* Mĕkahang, Pĕndusan, Nungnungan, Yeh Buah, Kiskis, and Den Umah. Nungnungan and Yeh Buah consist entirely of offering *sawahs*, and the other four comprise the membership shares of the core villagers, unless some *sawahs* are not awarded because of the small number of eligible holders, in which case the surplus is added to the offering lands.

427 The *sawahs* are rented out on shares (*nyakap*) to the *sĕkahas pĕnya-*
311 *kap*. Sangkawan, for example, is rented to the *sĕkaha banjar* of Kĕstala, and Sangkanginan to the *sĕkaha pura dadia* of Kĕstala. This sharecropper's right can be withdrawn after the harvest (as has happened in the case of the *sĕkaha desa* of Gumung), hence the *sĕkaha pĕnyakap* has no permanent interest in the lands. For this reason it seldom makes any large-scale improvements in the irrigation works, and such improvements generally have to be financed by the *sĕkaha charik*. The tunnels in the village territory, for example, were built by people from Kĕstala and Gumung in return for wages.

241 The power in the *charik* is concentrated in the *sĕkaha toya*, whose
476 members are called *sinomans*. The administration consists of three
575 *klihans:* a *klihan sĕkaha* or *subak*, a *pĕnyarikan*, and a *saya*. This administration is assisted by two criers chosen from among the members in monthly rotation. The *sĕkaha pĕnyakap* rarely convenes its meetings in the irrigation-association temple or *bĕdugul*, which is considered as belonging to the ground; usually they are held in a temple of the members of the *sĕkaha*. The *sĕkaha pĕnyakap* of Sangkanginan, for example, meets on Saturday-Klion in the

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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pura dadia. Members are not allowed to appoint delegates to the meetings. 241 476 575

The task of the *klihan sĕkaha* or *subak* consists of presiding over the assemblies. Before the meeting he starts a water clock, and he strikes the signal block when the meeting begins. Then he gives an account of his management of the finances by displaying the cash on hand, which must correspond to the balance in the *pĕnyarikan*'s books. If there is a shortage he must provide a pawn and pay at the rate of 'five per two hundred'. Next he announces the division of labour and charges the *saya* to inform the members of the decisions taken. Though elsewhere the *saya* is required to provide for the requisites of the meeting, in these meetings that is the task of the criers. If the waterworks are in need of small-scale repairs, the *subak* can appoint a part of the members to perform them, with a record being kept of the assignment.

The three *klihans* are together responsible for the weir, the conduits, and the system of ditches. They measure the water shares of the members with a bamboo cylinder. In dividing the water from a single weir over more than one *charik* the officials of the *chariks* concerned consult with each other. This is easier when the *chariks* involved have a joint *klihan sĕkaha*, as is the case for Sangkawan and Sangkanginan. There the *klihan* also has the task of seeing that both *chariks* get the water they need at the right time, since the Sangkawan weir moreover provides water to the irrigation association in the *desa* of Bungaya, which uses two-thirds of all the water from the weir. Only one-third goes to the two *chariks*, and that is not enough for the whole territory at the same time, so that Sangkawan obtains the water in the fourth month (Kapat) and Sangkanginan in the ninth month (Kasanga).

If the *sĕkaha pĕnyakap* is not able to undertake large-scale repairs on its weir by itself, it asks the assistance of the *sĕkaha charik*, which requests help from the whole *desa* if need be.

The three *klihans sĕkaha*, after having a favourable day determined for the beginning of planting, must set the example by starting planting themselves. Anyone who fails to give ear to the announcement to begin to plant is fined a hundred twenty-five

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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doits. The three *klihans* also direct the three important agrarian offerings: when the paddy is a month old, when it is almost ready to be harvested, and when the *nini*, the rice mother, is celebrated. The income of the *sĕkaha toya* consists primarily of fines, interest on money lent out, and *pĕngohot*. The monthly interest on money lent amounts to three doits per two hundred if a pawn is provided (to be sold if the money is not repaid), and six doits per two hundred when there is no such pawn. The *pĕngohot* is paid by members who use the irrigation water without helping to maintain the weir and the conduits. Since the *sĕkaha toya* is a voluntary association and *pĕnyakaps* are not obliged to become members, there are also people who have to pay for the use of water. This payment is made in rice, and amounts to twice the amount of paddy needed to seed the plot irrigated. The officials do not enjoy a larger share of the water, as they do elsewhere on Bali,[8] but only extra portions of the offering foods.

The task of the *klihans* of the *sĕkaha charik* consists merely of supervising the turning in of the shares of rice coming to the members of their associations. Their incomes consist of one sheaf of paddy per *tĕnah* (a unit of land planted from one handful of seedlings, roughly an acre) harvested, which sheaves are left in the field for them.

PATUS ASSOCIATIONS

The chief task of the southern Balinese *banjar* consists in the organization of cremations, with the members being required to perform certain services and make certain contributions (*patus*). In various parts of Karangasĕm, however, the term *patus* connotes all sorts of contributions, including those on such occasions as tooth-filing and marriage. In any number of Karangasĕm *banjars* persons who cremate their dead and persons who do not live mixed together, and in that case the cremation association is smaller than the *banjar* association. This is, for example, the case in the *banjar* of Pande. In the *banjar* of Kĕstala there is, besides the *banjar* association (which is also a *sĕkaha patus* in the broader sense), the *sĕkaha bĕdigul*, the cremation association, which supplements the

2: Covarrubias

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[Information on the subak, a cooperative agricultural society with various functions, will be found in categories pertinent to the functions themselves, such as 474 for cooperative activities and 627 for informal judicial procedures.]

Javanese OE3
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Makassar OG6
Malays AN5
Atjehnese OD4

J 805 [348 cont.] Still other time-periods were formerly in use among the Javanese, a six-day period and a nine-day period, and to these the Hindus added another, one of eight days.

B 805 [241] On Bali the solar year regulates agricultural work, with attention given to the position of Orion and the Pleiades. The months have 29 or 30 days. For ordinary purposes, however, such as B [796] calculating age or the occurrence of religious festivals and family celebrations, use is made of oton, periods of 210 days, that is, 6 X 35 (see above) or 30 X 7 days (30 woekoe). There are many different kinds of division into weeks on Bali, one, two, three, etc., up to ten-day weeks. Most of them, however, are used only to calculate favorable and unfavorable days. In order to distinguish all these different weeks from one another, use is made of a calendar-plank, a tika, which is divided by incised vertical lines into thirty columns. These vertical columns are cut by seven horizontal lines to make 210 little squares, the number of days in one oton. The first day of the seven-day week, Raditè or Reditt, falls in the bottom horizontal row on the right, the second in the same square in the row above it, etc. Thus, the days of this week are easily found on the calendar. To find the weekdays of the nine- and six-day weeks, a number of little gashes are made in the calendar, or little sticks are used to mark a certain day or days of these weeks. Six other little signs are used to mark the favorable and unfavorable days.

MK ML 805 [349] Of the remaining Mohammedan peoples of the archipelago, the Buginese and Makassarese, as well as the Malayans, use the Mohammedan calendar and the customary Mohammedan numbering of the year. This is the case, too, on Atjeh. The A 805 [92] Atjehnese names for the months are corrupted Arabic names, but in addition they have a second name derived from some custom or Mohammedan festival connected with the month in question. Thus, the eleventh month is called meu-apèt, which comes from the Javanese Apit. The eight-year cycle, with three leap years, is also used on Atjeh; the leap years are the second, fifth, and seventh. As on Java, the years of the cycle are designated by